

Collective veto on nuclear force
 → weighted voted system

Swiss

Europe speaking with one voice is an illusion
 will never happen.

Attitude of France has profoundly changed NATO
 we must think of new solutions.

Reformed NATO on the basis of those
 nations willing to integrate military
 force U.S., U.K., Germany, Belgium,
 Spain.

Denmark

Would like to participate in
 integrated forces. NATO essential

U.K.

Military integration necessary
 but founded on political consensus
 — otherwise in crisis, nations will
 simply opt out.
 — I don't believe in forming
 "in-groups" within NATO

U.K. cont.

Organization in all aspects must ~~be~~ embrace all 14 nations (leaving seat warm for the French).

▶▶ Europe has not got relatively stronger. U.S. has. Therefore, central strength in NATO is U.S. Some of the key organizations of NATO must operate in U.S. rather than Europe because that's where decisions will be made — and problems of the next 10 years are political, rather than military.

Norway

We must accept fact of
american preponderance
in next 10 years.

How can ~~we~~ we
reform our organization
so as to make that
power hear our views better.

Nuclear ~~aspects~~ - recognizing
U.S. preponderance. must
work out method by which
other nations may have "a real say"
on strategy.

France

→ Situation has changed in
last 15 years. vis a vis U.S.
It is a mistake to insist on
preponderant U.S. strength.

→ Differences of opinion have
caused U.S. policy to be more
adaptable.

→ Soviet military aggression is not
the same as in war - we must
recognize this & NATO ~~and~~ should

France cont

late political questions in
mind. All problems are not
military.

McClay

Perhaps we should be thankful
to De Gaulle for putting the problem and
challenge on the table and in the
open. We've known we had to,
but we've avoided it.

→ Policy involves return to
systems of Nationalism which in
1914, and before, have been
quite unproductive. I believe this
is very serious. Nationalism stimulates
nationalism.

→ I fear - not so much a return
to isolationist - but that we might
withdraw from complexities of
NATO situation that we might
go back to a "polarist" situation.

When you stress independence, flexibility
and nationalism, you risk going
back to pre-1914 "mish mash".

→ we can very easily go adrift here

if we don't have high degree
of statesmanship & resist
replying to nationalism.

→ another problem is with
people of these countries. U.S.
people are confused. In France
the people misunderstand
& seem to believe De Gaulle is
right about "U.S. ordering our
boys around".

De Gaulle says - no longer
very menacing (that's effect). I
question that.

But remember, problems are
not only military.

Problem is not so much military threats as emerging east-west relationship. De Gaulle has had initiative. May revive still-alive European nationalism. While in short-run re-enforces Germany's interest in NATO, may eventually cause Germany's nationalism.

➤ Urgent need for U.S. and NATO to formulate a new east-west relationship (because of Soviet internal changes, changes in East Europe, Sino-Soviet split.)

➤ Must take initiative for with East.

will not be sufficient just to try to preserve institution

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➤ Austria
NATO's continued strength a great concern for those who are not members.

Soviet military strength can be discounted for the time being (problems of Soviet previously mentioned) maybe this would have happened anyway - but with strong NATO these things may not have happened & definitely not so soon - Because of this infiltration and subversion had to be abandoned. Failure of Berlin takeover worsened Sino-Soviet relations because it forced Soviet back on co-existence.

U.S. should realize its strength and with self-confidence.

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George Ball

NATO purposes

1. Defense
2. Deterrence
3. Settlement of European problem
(unification of Germany)

→ Combined, unified Command of
military - ready to go, essential

Gurkey

- Don't fragmentize or regionalize
- don't add other outside
matters or try to direct a
concerted foreign policy.

France (opposition)

still remains in alliance
but outside organization -

This is difficult to do

do not see advantages

8) my government's position.

France now practically
isolated by proper action of 14
nations

Nato, detection - will we lose?

Loss of French command of

NATO - What about Germany
(French troops there?)

De Gaulle's reasons

1. Psychological

France would do better
not linked or subordinated
to U.S. command when
military conflict in Asia
may expand and those involved
French in war in Far East.
(I don't think this risk exists
because NATO pact has no
competence there)

2. Detente with Soviet Union
will be more active when Atlantic
Union becomes weaker

Force opposite
condemned

(my reply - detente was
result of western union. NATO
was the shield which put
an end to Soviet subversion
fragile beginning of co-existence
is product of atlantic cohesion
— NATO can be source of
dialogue for more flexible
relations with East)

3. Contradiction between sovereignty of states and integration of military force

De Gaulle has emphasized
with to french people for
building separate nuclear force
that U.S. came into WWI in
1917 and WWII in 1941 —

We must point out to
public ~~op~~ opinion that
this need for automaticity is
what NATO can answer

Period of nationalism is a dangerous
game. No fear now, I trust, but eventually
Germany may become nationalistic also, and
imitate France's desire for a free hand, also.

~~France continued~~
~~opposition~~

U.S. should please think
 in future of strengthening common
 management.

I hope Europe will have
 greater share in management
 and military responsibilities
 of the alliance.

Nuclear weapons at heart
 of present trouble — we
 mustn't just say we're
 against proliferation — but
 must give Europe more
 hand.

NATO should be continued and
 I hope France will one
 day take up its place
 in it.

~~Germany~~ (Socialist)

If U.S. came late in
2 wars - why not
keep them here?

also, in afraid
French nationalism may lead to
greater nationalism on the part
of Germany.

Integration - means preparation
in peace time for common defense.
also, common strategy in nuclear
field. This is necessary to
maintain credibility of deterrent.
more difficult and expensive, but
necessary, without France.

Belgium

Wider scope for ~~NATO~~ not just
military integration.

We cannot isolate a
treaty or organization to one area
of the world.



Frankel

1. Deterrence no longer is
military on ground but
U.S. nuclear power.

but NATO has other purposes and
usefulness.

GowrieSuggestions for action

1. Use of smaller groups
on a functional or
regional basis

2. Nuclear sharing

- Manara Committee
- Collective Atlantic force
- European force

3. East-West policy

(trade, credit, arms
control, diplomatic activity
and German unity.)
- policy making body on a
continuous basis

I would add (for discussion)

4. Responsibility in other parts
of the world
→ developing nation
→ containment of
Chinese aggression

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Netherlands

→ France is engaged in
"diplomacy by statement."

→ There will be repercussions in the
common market.

→ There should not be bilateral
dealings with France outside
NATO. Council should be kept in
Paris. Military might
will have to be moved. Should
not be moved to U.S. Nor to U.K.
(latter would give impression that in
conflict mainland might have to
abandon) (not to U.S.
because takes European
defense outside Europe)

→ Must give attention ^{now} to
nuclear attraction, especially
by U.S. and U.K.

→ Difficult to see advantages to
France of their policy which
will tend to produce post-1914
conditions.

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France (opposition)

our diplomacy is dominated by one man. I see nothing wrong with some bilateral conversations.

Gilpatrick (U.S.)

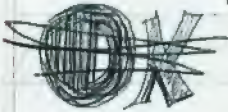
Nuclear sharing - non-proliferation

■ no hurry because U.S. & Soviet can push on bilateral pressure and therefore we shouldn't wait on this problem's solution to get at NATO problems.



Holfield

nuclear sharing



What is desired by Germany
if not complete sovereign
control

U.K.

Germany is not represented
at SAC headquarters.
Special Committee of
McNamara is only an
exploratory committee

— this is not enough
to reassure a European
non-nuclear nation.

Germany

→ WE have never asked for control
over nuclear weapons. WE
want to participate in
long-term nuclear planning —
our say in the decision making
process.

→ WE doubt the McNamara committee
can give us sufficient weight.

Erler (Socialist)

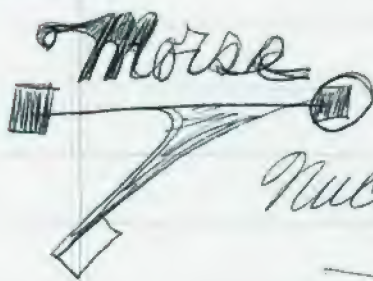
Reunification of Germany
would be such a major change
in world politics, I am
convinced it cannot come
about except with major
political, nuclear & military
changes toward nuclear
disarmament.

■ But need more sharing
of control on this continent
more cooperation.





Morse



Nuclear proliferation

— NATO can have new meaning by helping to solve this.

U.S.
Gowrie

Nuclear control

Most Europeans want to have more than information ~~at~~ grace. They want to be in on things as a matter of right.

If (U.S. & France) get special standing in NATO because they have nuclear weapons → then other nations sooner or later will demand such weapons.



In answer to Holifield
Italy (Secy General Monty)
What about a European
nuclear force with U.S. veto?
Couldnt U.S. come up with
such a suggestion & pass
it through their Congress.

Canada

We do not wish nor intend
to produce nuclear weapons.
Though we have the power to do
so — This should not stand
in the way of expanding peaceful
use of nuclear power.

① → we reaffirm our support of
NATO which still has 15 members.

② Let's keep alliance together
① is strengthen & make it
more effective — we need
more political consultation
to promote political unity,
(we must remember it was not to
be a world-wide political
instrument) linked to geographic
concept. (Speaking Pearson's position)

Reuther

There is here
overemphasis on mechanics.

NATO is in trouble because
common fears are reduced.
Success

- ⇒ WE need a new sense
- 1) historic purpose
 - What's unfinished job
 - 1) Atlantic Community?
 - building community
 - 1) peace.

⇒ nationalism is dangerous

Harris

Countries act
general on their
own self
interest

Much has been said
about unfortunate
isolation of U.S.

must be kept
for defense & deterrence

(unified
military
machinery)

dialogue offensive

NATO must not be
isolationist

nor militaristic

I hope I
will not
opend
- but I'm not
talking about
becoming more
involved in
preventing wars

avoid
conflicting
interests

especially
those matters
we should
talk about

1. greater détente
with Soviet Union

{ Eastern (expanding
its machinery
for political
dialogue &
policy making)

Europe.
(can do this
multilaterally)

2. Greater involvement
with the
developing world

we are rich; we are
strong

social world obligations

we should not be bound by what
we are against alone.

1. greater détente with Russia
& the Eastern world

2. preventing causes of war in the
third world

All countries, including
France, will see ~~NATO~~
Atlantic alliance as once again
serving their most vital interests



de Santo Silva

← Comment on statements of Sen. Harris
on expansion of NATO to matters of
other parts of the world

Success of NATO has made
potential enemies more active
of other parts of the world. NATO
members should show more
understanding of members' problems
in other parts of the world. This
would should NATO solidarity.

Nuclear control

Tutill (U.S.)

Walter Reuther — "The idealists are the
pragmatists of our day?"



agree with Murphy. Duffin
(Secy-General of NATO) — we
should concentrate on NATO's
original mission as a
military alliance.

Aid to developing
countries should not be a
role of NATO, but of other existing
agencies.

Neither of helping with
detente is not NATO's role.
Detente is not helped but
made more difficult by
Francis' action. NATO has already
been a strong instrument
of detente.

Portugal

Involvement in other parts of
the world and make common
approach to Eastern Europe and
Soviet Union. Should not
overload NATO in other parts of
the world.

1. Shouldn't get involved for
Portugal in Angola. NATO has enough
to do.

2. Shouldn't make new approach
to East — because it would be unsuccessful
because it has military image. Countries

Portugal cont.

should be free to make its own
approaches through its best
channels.

De Santo Silva (Portugal)

I don't think NATO should get
involved in problems of Angola. What
I would like is NATO members
to have a better understanding
and some kind of moral
solidarity on these problems
which involve western
civilization.

Canadian

Nuclear power

Couldn't this be studied by NATO
Councils ~~now~~ France has made it
impossible to make much headway
here - But, now, couldn't the
remaining 11 make some progress.

Ambassador McFhee

1. Greatest threat to future of NATO lies in distrust or fear of Federal Republican. Germany should be allowed to make its case.

De Gaulle's action increases Germany's role. we mustn't make Germany a second class member of the Alliance

2. Scope of NATO - Sen. Harris said Europe must guard against isolation & U.S. is now involved.

Soviets and Communist Chinese are global. ~~Europe~~ We are the

only ones taking full world view. Europeans could help along side us. If nations of

Europeans individually and their collective agency doesn't take part, a great gap is created in western defense.

What about peace-keeping effort under aegis of NATO? Why not?

Cong. Holifield nuclear

Special McNara Committee has possibilities for solving the problem. Support and encouragement of 14 members will largely determine developments.

NATO was in derarray for several years before De Gaulle. It had not perfected its procedures. Let us agree upon its defense and war plans. If we can't do this in times of peace - there is small chance for NATO to be an effective shield in times of war. If we can't do this, there is little reason to pour into it our most precious ~~secret and~~ weapons.

Netherlands

on the whole the U.S. has been free of the "Big Power Complex" but in this instance, they seem to exhibit it. WE must have a greater spirit of equality and sharing among all NATO members.

Holifield's Nuclear

By charge of law and otherwise, were given much (listed) classified information and technical knowledge to NATO allies — all except info necessary or useful to construction of nuclear weapons or submarine. This is not antagonistic, but against proliferation and counter espionage and the risks involved, in U.S. as well as in NATO member countries.

Morse amendment of McMahon act highly unlikely and any proposed nuclear sharing must come within framework of present law.

U.K. - Nato's role in keeping peace in world is attractive, but not very practical.

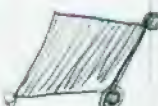
→ we don't have the ships and hardware to do so — even if it were politically advisable to do so.

→ I think there is resistance in developing world to NATO as policeman (such as in Cyprus) —

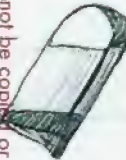
I believe this is role of U.N. And its decline worse than De Gaulle's action.



U. R.



Europe's world should not be as a blood donor in the developing world.

McThee


Europe has forces. U.S. has transport.

I don't see how a group of people in the world with science and other potential power can refuse to play a world role — and NATO Council can serve as forum.

Holifield

I disagree with Cong. Morse (Rep.) as Chm. of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and member of the Majority Party.

We've modified McMahon Act on a number of occasions — 3 times in regard to NATO. I wouldn't want to leave impression that Congress would not look on McMahon Act as dead letter, but as living, breathing thing.

France opposition)

Quotes Lippman for prockially
 opproving De Gaulle's position.
 because ~~balance~~ equilibrium of
 power is established by U.S.

France is to get most
 of advantages geography ~~not~~ allow
 it.



~~Soviet~~

also

Soviet Union believes
 France's independence is a
 bad example for the countries of
 Eastern Europe.

Johnson (U.S.)

I think McGhee's position is
 not as good as Buchanan's ^(U.K.) about
 U.N.'s role —

but one of problems in
 U.N. is that every one has a
 block except Atlantic
 community — this lack of
 unity in U.N. among us
 is striking. We do not concert
 our policies in U.N. ~~as much~~
 nearly as much as we can
 and we should. we ought
 to do a better job than we can.

McGhee

U.N. has done excellent work in peace-keeping, though there's been some disillusionment - But it's axiomatic that it can't function in cold ~~cold~~ war situation.

U.S. won't forever do it alone.

Prince Bernhard

Consensus NATO should be maintained as an alliance and as an organization.

agree

Soviet posture has changed since creation. over aggression is not expected. But if NATO disappeared there would be a very dangerous situation, at least new Soviet expansionist policy military integration should be continued.

General and strong desire to avoid further alienation of France and keep door open - But to strengthen & maintain NATO in spite of French action

H/H conf.

not solved

Should we ~~use~~ use present situation to adopt and adjust and leave more fundamental changes to a later period.

The effort to keep going is already a hard enough goal without adding more problems.

not solved questions:

1. Stronger policies and integration - for some nations even though all don't ~~all~~ want to. Large opinion that NATO is essentially a security pact. Large opinion that smaller groups should be avoided.

2. Nuclear sharing
enormous discrepancies in strength between U.S. and Europe. Strong desire of Europe for stronger voice in all decisions involving nuclear power. Disappointed no more concrete proposals for Cong. Holifield's questions as to how this may be done.

3. no answer whether
just security or stronger effort for common posture vis a vis the outside world.

Jim Andrew

Widening gap between developing & developed nations is dangerous, not only because it threatens the stability of the world, but also because it is an affront to our consciences.

needs (between donors)

1. Arrangements & recipients for effectiveness (World Bank & ~~other~~ other international organizations. Proper domestic policies more important than amounts. (otherwise disappointment & frustration ~~occurs~~ occurs for recipients, but more importantly for donors, which are liable to result in reduction. We must not be woolly-headed about this for fear of neo-colonialism. We don't have the right not to do this) International organizations can impose conditions easier, but majority of aid will continue to be bilateral for the foreseeable future.

2. Donors must work together much more closely with coherent plans for working out priorities. U.S. has anti-scatterization policy but we need this on cooperative basis among us all.



① OECD Development assistant Committee must be made more of than we have to date. This is the means by which the Atlantic Community could do more together in aid.

② More attention to technical assistance, training, transfer of know-how. Bound to be effective and successful. U.K. ~~has~~ has given absolute priority here and we're expanding. (Has advantage, of course, of being chiefest).

3. Concentrate on points of breakthrough in science & technology, desalinization, pest control, above all: population control. Latter is an important form of aid.

4. Support International aid Programs. (will by 1970 have gone from 14% to 18% of the gross aid total)

International Development Association funds must be replenish shortly - U.N. ^(development) program must be supported

World Bank must continue to be in a leadership program.

my questions

What percentage of
GDP or other measure
are 15 NATO members
devoting to aid.

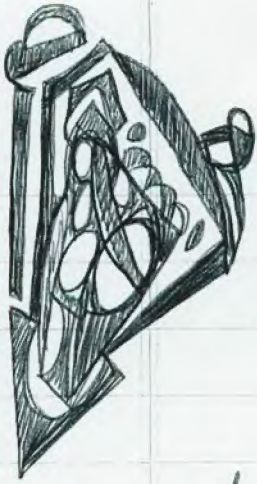
What about China and
Soviet Union? Japan?

White (CATT)

EEC is not coming
to grips with
their responsibility
with impending failure
in Kennedy round.

aid is not matter of philanthropy.
It ought to be considered as a
matter of national interest, an
integral part of national policy.

developing



Greater cohesion & building
on Article 2 or some other
solution — or else

"common bat will continue
to spring leaks & perhaps be
hopelessly wrecked"

— paraphrasing Lincoln — "the world
cannot long endure half rich
and half poor, particularly
if the rich are getting richer
and the poor are getting poorer."

Property

H

Federal Republican

1. Integration essential

→ reform of NATO necessary

A. European unification

B. European voice increase even before unity

C. Reform for more facile joint action

D. Change in military & nuclear control

(we accept non-proliferation)

but we want participation

in every decision-making stage

→ collective system

- U.S. veto

- European veto

→ more participation in crisis management - disarmament agreement

Better monetary system

Better coordination & aid to underdeveloped world.